MOTHER EARTH

Vol. IX. August 1914 No. 6

CONTENTS

	Page
War—Poem Adolf Wolff	177
War on War	178
Observations and Comments	179
Postponement of the International Anarchist Congress	184
Down with Militarism! Up with the Rights of Man Charles A. Breckenridge	185
Insurrection Rather Than War Gustave Hervé	188
The General Strike and the Insurrection in Italy Enrico Malatesta	190
Becky Edelsohn: The First Political Hunger Striker in America Alexander Berkman	192
The Farcical Trial in Tarrytown Leonard D. Abbott	196
Fathers and Sons	200
The Rangel-Cline Case	201
Los Angeles Impressions Perry E. McCullough	203
On the Trail Emma Goldman	204
In Memory of Claude Riddle Charles T. Sprading	207

EMMA GOLDMAN - - - - - PUBLISHER
ALEXANDER BERKMAN - - - - EDITOR
Office: 74 West 119th Street, New York City
Telephone, Harlem 6194
Price 10 Cents per Copy One Dollar per Year

MOTHER EARTH

Monthly Magazine Devoted to Social Science and Literature

Published Every 15th of the Month

EMMA GOLDMAN, Proprietor, 74 West 119th Street, New York, N. Y.
ALEXANDER BERKMAN, Editor.

Entered as second-class matter April 9, 1906, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Vol. IX **AUGUST, 1914** **No. 6**

WAR

By Adolf Wolff.

Behold the minions of "Law and Order,"
The guardian angels of "Property" and "Life."
Behold their blood-drenched standards waving
In breezes pestilential, sowing death,
Disease, despair and devastation.
Behold their priests implore their helpless Gods
To grant their arms omnipotence in murder.

Oh, will those who survive this mighty carnage
At last perceive that all these cursed rulers
Stand only for the LAW of death
And the ORDER of destruction?

WAR ON WAR

AT last the military monster broke loose. Drunken with lust for power, the despots and oppressors of mankind have given the order for general slaughter. To-day we are witnessing a paroxysm of insanity such as the world has not seen before. Millions of crazed men are marching to destroy each other. What will be the result of this tremendous self-annihilation: the triumph of militarism and continuation of slavery for another century, or a breakdown of despotism and capitalism? The outcome will largely depend on the energy of the social revolutionists of the world.

Political Socialism is responsible for this outbreak of barbarism. The German exponents of political Socialism and their adherents in other countries, and all those who used to sneer at the anti-militarist propaganda of the Anarchists and other social revolutionists, have helped to strengthen the power of despotism and exploitation, and now we see these famous leaders ordering their followers to defend "their" Fatherland. We have no sympathy with these political cattle. We admire the deed of our Italian Comrades who shoot down their officers rather than murder their fellow-beings. THEY are the real exponents of revolutionary action.

Though we get no real news about the events now going on in Europe, we know that the boasting of the German Social Democracy of being able to prevent an European war has proved to be an empty phrase. And the same man who had once proclaimed "insurrection rather than war" now exhorts his comrades to defend the "civilization" of their exploiters. What a deadly farce!

The revolutionary movement of the world is now in

great danger of being swept away in the general conflagration. Let us foresee this danger. Let us combine for concerted action. Let us take up the slogan betrayed by the renegades: We proclaim the INSURRECTION AGAINST THE WAR.

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

NO lie more heinous than the jingo motto that "preparedness for war is the best guarantee for peace."

If the peoples of Europe had not permitted their governments to turn their respective countries into camps for human slaughter, the present conflagration of murder could not have taken place.

The psychology of a government is like that of the policeman with a club. Let the ruffian handle it for awhile, and his fingers itch to ply it upon some one's head. Teach men the business of killing, and you develop the desire to kill at the least opportunity. That is why it is so easy to rouse the passion of murder in hearts and minds persistently trained to think in terms of destruction.

* * *

THE powers of Europe—the Tsars, Kaisers and Kings—are guilty of the deliberate and cold-blooded slaughter of thousands of human beings. Why should they not be considered common murderers, and be dealt with accordingly?

And if a Kaiser or King stands above the law, why should the people not act with the royal murder-monsters directly, without process of law?

It would be incomparably more humanitarian to have a score of crowned heads bite the dust than to permit the war to go on.

* * *

THE present European catastrophe is no accident. It was to be foreseen as an inevitable development of existing conditions. Our Christian civilization is a two-headed monster of capitalism and government, gorging itself on the body of humanity. Our whole social life is based on murder and mutual slaughter. War, extermina-

tion, is its very breath—the war of the classes against the masses, the war of man against man in the perverted struggle for existence.

Capitalism thrives on the blood and marrow of the exploited people. Murdering, devastating, killing is the function of its every-day life. Oppression, robbery and rapine are the means of its survival. This is the spirit of capitalism throughout the world, and war is only an intensified moment of its existence.

* * *

"WHY war?"

Because capitalism.

The workers of the world, the producers—industrial as well as agrarian—are robbed in a thousand and one ways of the products of their labor. Law, usury and capitalistic rapacity, all combine to beat the producer out of his product. Despoiled of the land and the machinery of production, the workers are forced to give up the wealth they create for a pitiful wage. Unable to buy back the products of their own making, they live in misery and poverty. The wealth they produce is accumulating in the hands of their exploiters. New buyers must be found to dispose of this over-production, resulting from under-consumption. There begins a race for new markets: fierce capitalistic competition to dispose of their wares and to gain the biggest profit with the least possible expenditure. This requires further cutting of wages, employment of the cheapest labor at long hours, higher prices of food and rent, and the reduction of the general standard of living. It means a more intense exploitation of the workers, keener competition among the capitalists, aided by their respective governments to secure cheaper labor, new natural resources and unexhausted markets.

"Barbarous" peoples must be "civilized," to be pressed into the yoke of capitalism, weaker races subjugated, and the land of smaller nations appropriated in order to facilitate the triumphant march of capitalistic commercialism and autocratic supremacy. Man must be set against man, races imbued with hatred of each other, mankind divided into opposing nationalities, each taught to despise and hate the other, the earth broken up by artificial boundary lines, each little spot breathing blood-thirsty

patriotism of accidental birthplace and religion—all for the greater glory of the monster that tears mankind to pieces between its rapacious jaws.

Hence War.

* * *

SOME day this monster will be killed, exterminated root and branch by the new Hercules that is even now growing into manhood. It is the invincible Hercules of the awakening economic consciousness and solidarity of labor. And with the monster will go war, pestilence and misery, and mankind, undivided and one, will live in peace, in liberty, in the enjoyment of the fruits of its labor.

Not till then will war be abolished. Vain is the hope that this is the last great war. Greater wars yet will come with the newer inventions of the human mind, that will make bullets more deadly, guns more destructive, airships more perfect. War will last as long as capitalism and government last. No peace tribunals or Hague Conferences will abolish it. Only the class-conscious solidarity of international labor can forever banish war from the face of the earth.

* * *

WERE the workers of Europe conscious of their power, this war could not last a day. Indeed it could not have been begun; the lords of war and wealth would not dare think of it.

You need guns and ammunition, you need food and clothing and a thousand other necessaries to keep the navy and the army of a country in fighting trim. Suppose the workers, *even now,* refuse to supply food to the armies of Europe; suppose the railroad employees in Austria, Germany, France and Russia refuse to haul the soldiers on their trains, and blow up the railroad tracks,—mobilization would be paralyzed at once, the military plans upset and the armies disorganized, with mutiny breaking out among the soldiers.

This could be accomplished if the workers in the respective countries had been prepared for such action by the agitation of the militant, revolutionary element. Indeed, the Anarchists of Europe and other anti-militarists have for years been carrying on such a propaganda. They have persistently advocated the General Strike as

the most powerful and effective weapon of labor to check the aggression of capital and the blood-thirsty ambitions of government. But the official Social Democracy has constantly opposed and hindered this propaganda, ridiculing the efforts of the Anarchists, and declaring the General Strike idea to be general nonsense.

It is the fault of the Social Democracy of Europe that the workers have remained unprepared to stem the tide of human slaughter. The Social Democratic parties in their narrowness, their treachery to the ideal and their political wool-shearing are directly responsible for the gigantic crime of the present European war.

And well they know it. The moment the war broke out, they began to talk big of a General Strike. But too late. No preparation had been made by them for it; indeed, they did their utmost to paralyze the possibility of the General Strike.

May the rank and file of the international Social Democracy, so cruelly duped by their misleaders, learn the significant lesson. We sincerely hope that they will—that they will realize the utter futility of the efforts spent in parliamentary activity, and that they will turn to the only effective weapon of labor—DIRECT ACTION and the GENERAL STRIKE.

And if they do, the present war will not be an unmitigated calamity.

* * *

THE leading French Socialist, Jean Jaurès, was recently killed by Raoul Villain, the son of a clerk of the Civil Court at Rheims.

Jaurès, often an opportunistic compromiser, yet had sufficient social vision to realize the urgent need of a strong anti-militarist propaganda. It was his energetic efforts in that direction that earned him the bitter hatred of the jingoists of France.

Perhaps the youth who shot Jaurès to death was moved by what he considered high patriotic motives. But the currents back of that misled fanatic centered in the vortex of military and bureaucratic interests.

Jean Jaurès died a martyr to the cause of true progress.

IN Sarajewo, capital of Bosnia, there were recently killed Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria, and his morganatic wife, Sophie Von Hohenberg. The name of the young man who committed the *Attentat* is Gavro Prinzip. It seems that he acted from nationalistic, patriotic motives, Bosnia having been annexed and its people mercilessly oppressed by the Austrian government.

Franz Ferdinand was the head and hope of all the reactionary factions of Austria. Narrow-minded and superstitious, the priests, Anti-Semites and jingoes found in him their protector and patron. A "great victorious war" was his life's ambition. He would have practiced a million-fold the assassination that he suffered at the hands of Gavro Prinzip. He had to swallow his own medicine—that's all.

* * *

THE mills of capitalistic justice keep on grinding. In New Jersey, Fred S. Boyd and Patrick Quinlan are under penitentiary sentences for "inciting to riot," that is, for voicing opinions dangerous to plutocratic interests.

In New York almost a score of comrades are serving time for denouncing the Rockefellers for burning alive women and children in Ludlow, Colorado. In Texas a number of rebels have been railroaded to prison for terms ranging from 6 to 99 years. And now Joe Hill, active revolutionist and composer of most of the popular I. W. W. songs, has been sentenced to death in Salt Lake City, Utah, on a trumped-up charge of murder.

Any old pretext is good enough for the plutocratic canaille to get rid of rebel workers. How long is this Juggernaut to be allowed to roll merrily on, crushing beneath its spiked wheels the very best flowers of the militant working class of America?

I am sick of appeals to legality, sick of the hope for class justice. It is high time to begin to fight Satan with his own hell fire. An eye for an eye; a tooth for a tooth!

* * *

FOR lack of space, several articles that should have appeared in this number must be postponed till the next issue. Among them one on Emma Goldman's visit

in San Francisco and her attempt to speak in the Western Tarrytown of San Diego.

The report of the Funeral Receipts and Expenditures must for the same reason also be left for the next issue. We wish, however, to call the attention of our friends to the large deficit in this connection, and we appeal to them to help defray the same, as well as to contribute toward the continuation of the work of the Anti-Militarist League and of the Becky Edelsohn agitation.

* * *

EVEN if a little belated, we are happy to extend our heartfelt greeting to the WOMAN REBEL, a highly interesting new monthly, of broad social ideals and keen revolutionary spirit.

The WOMAN REBEL needs no better introduction than to say that it is published and edited by Margaret Sanger, one of the rare, real rebel women. Address WOMAN REBEL, 34 Post Avenue, N. Y. (10 cents per copy; $1.00 the year).

To our German reading friends we recommend the new revolutionary publication, THE INTERNATIONALE ARBEITER CHRONIK, in whose behalf it is sufficient to say that its editor is Max Baginiski, known in Germany as well as here as an *active* Anarchist intellectual. And if I add that he is a co-worker of MOTHER EARTH, need one say more?

Address, Internationale Arbeiter Chronik, 751 East 181st Street, New York City.

A. B.

INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CONGRESS POSTPONED.

JUST before going to press we received from London the following cable, to which we call the attention of all Anarchist groups and comrades:

Mother Earth:

Congress postponed. Notify groups.

Schapiro.

DOWN WITH MILITARISM! UP WITH THE RIGHTS OF MAN

BY CHARLES A. BRECKENRIDGE

"WAR—What For?" is the name of a powerful anti-militarist book written by an American Socialist and circulated throughout the country in thousands of copies during recent months. "War—What For?" is the legend that thousands carried in their hats, in red letters, at the great anti-militarist demonstration held in Union Square, New York, on August 8th. The question was never so urgent as at the present moment. It deserves an answer in the mind of every human being. Upon the answer that we give depends the whole future of humanity and of all that we call civilization.

One thing is certain—war is NOT for the working class. The wage-workers who have been led by such cries as "patriotism" and "nationalism" into participation in the present European war will find, before the world is much older, that they have been fooled. They did not create the quarrel, but they are paying the price. They have no real interest in the issue, whatever it may be, but they are providing the fodder for cannon, and their bodies will soon be strewn over all the fields of Europe. Workingmen, if only they knew their own interest, would realize that no war is justified unless it be for the purpose of overthrowing the capitalist system and establishing industrial control of, by and for the working class.

Two other things are equally certain—war is FOR the interest of kings, emperors and rulers in all lands, and FOR the interest of the capitalist masters. The European cataclysm was precipitated by the monstrous egotism and medieval-mindedness of absolute monarchs. Except for their ambitions, it would not have been. When the peoples awaken from their present nightmare, when they see more clearly how the war was brought on, there will be a day of reckoning. Pious hypocrites, asserting divine right and claiming to be viceregents of God, will be swept from the face of the earth. Expensive regal establishments, supported out of the life's blood of the

masses, will be overthrown. The era of kings will be ended. The era of man will begin.

In that day of reckoning, capitalist masters will also feel the wrath of the people. The war now raging is, in the last resort, a war for the domination and exploitation of the world commercially. It is a fight for expansion, for more feeding ground, for markets. It was started at a time when Russia and Italy were in the throes of new social revolt, and was undoubtedly intended to distract attention from social wrongs within the countries affected. But, from present indications, it will produce exactly the opposite result from that intended. The days of capitalism are numbered, and in the coming reaction from the blood-lust that is now devastating Europe, capitalism will be destroyed.

The working class and the anti-militarist movement already have their martyrs in the struggle going forward. German Socialists are reported killed by the Kaiser because they had the courage to oppose his mad designs. Jean Jaurès, the great French Socialist leader, has fallen a victim to the fury of a militarist fanatic because he denounced the war mania. Only a few weeks ago, Jaurès, speaking at an immense anti-war meeting in Brussels, scored with all the power of his unequaled rhetoric the diplomats who were inveigling the people into war. To his dying day, he raised his voice against the plan to extend military service in France to three years. Unlike August Bebel, who abandoned the idea of the General Strike as the best preventive of war, Jaurès agreed with the Anarchists in his conviction that a propaganda directed toward a universal revolt of the working class in time of war was the best weapon to be used in combatting militarism. He paid for his intelligence with his life.

Here in America, our comrade Becky Edelsohn has fallen a victim, in another way, to the powers of militarism. Last April, at a time when war with Mexico was popular in this country, Miss Edelsohn was plucky enough to stand up against a crowd of war-drunk Americans in Park Row, New York, and to tell them the truth about the proposed campaign. The sober second thought of the American nation coincided with Miss Edelsohn's own attitude. War was prevented. But Miss Edelsohn suffered the fate of all pioneers, and had to fight for her

life. Condemned to sixty days in prison for "disorder" that was committed entirely by the crowd, she has protested, in the only way she could, by a hunger strike.

Many more will be sacrificed to the War God of Government and of Capitalism before the war against war comes to a successful conclusion. Not all will be called upon to take a prominent part in the struggle, but each can do his part. Every man can use his voice against militarism. Every man can refuse to support militarism. Every man can refuse to join the army.

Collectively, the working class has it in its power to stop war when it chooses. The logical reply of the workers to militarism is organization along class lines. If workingmen refused to produce the implements of war, war would come to an end. If workingmen declined to transport soldiers and supplies, war would be impossible. A General Strike, consciously declared by workingmen who refused to be embroiled in disputes with which they were not concerned, would be an invincible argument against war.

Neither the individual nor the working class is yet educated up to the point where they see the criminal folly of war conducted on the present basis. But the time is coming when even the dullest mind will be penetrated. If the present war in Europe does nothing else of value, it will be of service in bringing an inevitable and overwhelming reaction against militarism.

It may be that a final war will still have to be fought—the war against government and against capitalism. The bulwarks that have protected the iniquities of centuries can hardly be demolished without fighting and without bloodshed. But at least this will be a war in which no man need be ashamed to participate. It will be a war in which all the workingmen and all the libertarians of the world will be able to say: "Down with militarism! Up with the rights of man!"

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

ANARCHISM—The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

INSURRECTION RATHER THAN WAR

By Gustave Herve

[Though Hervé has since repudiated his ideas, his arguments against patriotism and war have remained unanswered and unanswerable.]

WHAT is a Country?

For anybody who is not satisfied with words, or anybody who wants to forget for a moment the fantastic definitions of the Country which have been taught him at school, a Country is a group of men living under the same laws; because they themselves or their ancestors have been brought willingly or by force, more often force, to obey the same sovereign, the same government.

* * *

Patriotism groups men according to their land of origin, as decided by the vicissitudes of history; within every country, thanks to the patriotic link, rich and poor unite against the foreigner.

Socialism groups men, poor against rich, class against class, without taking into account the differences of race and language, and over and above the frontiers traced by history.

* * *

To the poor, to the crowds of lesser civil servants, small traders without credit, peasants without capital, the propertyless mass and the multitude of domestic servants of both sexes, falls the lot of ignorance, painful or loathsome toil, dangerous or unhealthy trades, long hours which make one disgusted with work and drive men to drink and women even lower still. To them starvation wages or insignificant profits; to them the insecurity of the morrow, the rigors of the law at the slightest fault, and if illness, old age, or unemployment comes, privations and dark misery with, especially for women, its procession of sorrows and shame.

That's what a Country is—a monstrous social inequality, the shameful exploitation of a nation by a privileged class!

* * *

There is nothing more natural, more logical, than that in every Country the rich should be patriots! Nobody

would wonder at THEIR fighting and getting killed occasionally for THEIR Country. Yet, even so, in France ever since the reign of Napoleon they have found means to avoid conscription.

* * *

But what confounds intelligence is that in all countries the beggars, poverty-stricken, disinherited, the overworked beasts of burden, ill-fed, badly housed, badly clothed, badly educated, as are three-fourths of the inhabitants of every country, march like one man at the first call, whatever may be the cause of war.

* * *

It is good, it is useful, it is indispensable for the leading classes that the parials whom they shear be profoundly convinced that the interests of the rich and of the poor are identical in every nation.

It is good, it is useful, it is indispensable for the leading classes that parials of every country consider the rich countrymen who exploit them, not as enemies, but as friends, and on certain days as brethren.

Patriotism in every nation masks the class antagonisms to the great profit of the leading classes; through it, they prolong and facilitate its domination.

But patriotism is not only at the present hour the moral upholder of the capitalist system; it serves as a pretext for the keeping up of formidable permanent armies, which are the material upholder, the last bulwark of the privileged classes.

The pretext, the only avowable and avowed aim of the army, is to defend the country against the foreigners; but once dressed in the country's livery, when the barrack training has killed in him every intelligence, every consciousness of his own interests, the man of the people is but a gendarme in the service of the exploiters against his brethren of misery.

* * *

The proletarians have no country.

The differences which exist between the present countries are all superficial differences.

The capitalist regime is the same in all countries; and as it cannot work without a minimum of political liberties, all countries which live under a capitalist system enjoy elementary liberties which cannot anywhere be de-

nied any longer to the proletariat. Even in Russia, the autocratic regime is to-day beaten to death.

The proletarians who give their lives for the present countries are dupes, stupid brutes.

The only war which is not a deception is that at the end of which, if they are victors, proletarians may hope by the expropriation of the capitalist class to put their hands on the social wealth accumulated by human genius for generations past.

There is only one war which is worthy of intelligent men, that is civil war, social revolution.

* * *

Whoever be the aggressor, insurrection rather than war!

THE GENERAL STRIKE AND THE INSURRECTION IN ITALY

BY ENRICO MALATESTA

THE events which have taken place recently in Italy are of the greatest importance, not so much in themselves, but as an indication of the disposition of the Italian people and of what we can anticipate in the near future.

The immediate cause of the outbreak was a massacre of unarmed demonstrators by the gendarmes of the town of Ancona.

For over a year the revolutionary and labor organizations of all political shades had been carrying on an agitation in favor of several victims of military despotism and for the abolition of *disciplinary battalions,* to which are sent all young soldiers known to hold anti-monarchial and anti-bourgeois opinions. The treatment is barbarous, and the unhappy young men are submitted to all kinds of moral and physical tortures.

As the meetings and demonstrations were held all over Italy, but on different dates, they seemed to make but little impression on the government; and the Trades Council of Ancona proposed, therefore, to organize manifestations in the whole country on the same day, that day to be the date of the official celebration of the

establishment of Italian unity and the Monarchy. As on these occasions great military reviews are always held, the comrades thought that the government would be obliged to postpone the review in order to hold the troops ready to preserve "order," and the attention of the whole public would be drawn to the object of the demonstration.

The idea put forward by the Ancona comrades was everywhere received with enthusiasm by all the opposition parties. The Minister ordered the police to prevent any public demonstrations. Of course, that did not deter us. In fact, we had counted on the police prohibition to give more publicity to the demonstration and to instigate the masses to resistance.

To stop the people who were leaving a meeting-hall from going to the central square to demonstrate, the gendarmes fired on the unarmed crowd, killing three workers, and wounding twenty more. After this massacre, the gendarmes, frightened, rushed to the barracks for shelter, and the people were left masters of the town. Without anybody even mentioning the word, a General Strike was soon complete, and the workers collected at the Trades Council to hold a meeting.

The government tried to prevent the events of Ancona from being telegraphed to other parts of the country; but nevertheless by-and-by the news became known, and strikes broke out in all the towns of Italy. The two Federal Labor organizations of Italy, the General Confederation of Labor, which is reformist, and the Labor Union, with revolutionary tendencies, proclaimed a General Strike, and the same was done by the Railwaymen's Union.

These strikes and demonstrations in several towns provoked new conflicts with the police, and new massacres. At once, without any common understanding, one place ignorant of what the other was doing, as communications were broken off, the movement assumed everywhere an insurrectional character, and in many places the Republic, which meant for the people the autonomous Commune, was proclaimed.

All was going splendidly; the movement was developing, and the railway strike, spreading on all lines, paralyzed the government; the workers were beginning to

take measures of practical Communism in view of reorganizing social life on a new basis; when suddenly the Confederation of Labor, by an act which has been qualified as treachery, ordered the strike off, thereby throwing the workers into confusion and discouraging them.

The government was not slow to profit by this condition, and began to restore "order."

If it had not been for the betrayal of the Confederation, though we could not yet have made the revolution for lack of necessary preparation and understanding, the movement would certainly have assumed larger proportions and a much greater importance.

In every way these events have proved that the mass of the people hate the present order; that the workers are disposed to make use of all opportunities to overthrow the government; and that when the fight is directed against the common enemy—that is to say, the government and the bourgeoisie—all are brothers, though the names of Socialist, Anarchist, Syndicalist, or Republican may seem to divide them.

Now it is up to revolutionaries to profit by these good dispositions.

BECKY EDELSOHN:

THE FIRST POLITICAL HUNGER STRIKER IN AMERICA

BY ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

HUNGER striking was first originated in Russia by political prisoners over thirty years ago, as a protest against the mistreatment and torture in prisons. It served to arouse the world to the brutalities practiced upon the imprisoned politicals, and it has helped, in a great measure, to force the Russian government to make terms with the prisoners. The case that attracted the widest attention was the hunger strike, in 1888, of the politicals in the Siberian hard-labor prison at Akatui, in protest against the flogging of a woman political prisoner, Mme. Sigida. The determination of the hunger strikers was such that six men slowly starved to death, when finally the government was forced to give in to the strikers' demand: the governor of the prison was removed.

Hunger striking as a protest against political injustice—as differentiated from the treatment accorded within prison—originated with the English suffragettes. Every one knows with what wonderful effect. The militant women of Europe have made the powerful government of Great Britain the laughing stock of the world. If they had accomplished nothing else, they have demonstrated that the determination and will power of the strong personality, inspired by an ideal, is more potent than the strongest government. They have demonstrated this power both in its immediate and ultimate effects. The government was forced to pass the Cat-and-Mouse Act and no English suffragette need stay in prison more than three or four days, no matter what the sentence of the Court. But the ultimate effect is still more significant. It has broken down among the English women the fetichism of the law, the belief in the sanctity of authority. Whatever else the suffragettes may achieve, they can contribute no greater or more lasting service to the cause of true progress.

* * *

Becky Edelsohn is the first political hunger striker in America. Only the willfully blind can fail to see the perfect justifiability and sound logic of her strike. Possessed of strong convictions and revolutionary temperament, of exceptional determination and courage, Becky refuses to compromise with the enemy. Is there any reason why any one should, except for weak considerations of personal safety and comfort? It is not given to the average to be strong and uncompromising. But Becky is not of the average. She is very exceptional—a strong personality, unusually gifted in mind and heart.

Though a very young woman, about twenty-three, Becky Edelsohn has been active in the Anarchist movement for a number of years. Not indeed as a "leader," nor even as speaker or writer, but as one of the soldiers in the ranks, whose unobtrusive devotion and out-of-the-spotlight work for the cause is the very soul of the more conspicuous activities.

The Movement of the Unemployed of last winter found Becky within its ranks. The movement, started by a small group of obscure proletarians at the Ferrer School, at the very outset faced the problem of the lack of

speakers from its own ranks. It was in this manner that Frank Tanenbaum joined in the work. Similarly Becky Edelsohn came to the front, inner necessity and the demand for speakers causing her to ascend the public platform—her first experience of the kind—at gatherings of the unemployed at various street corners of New York City, and later at Franklin Statue (Printers' Row). Of good appearance and sympathetic voice, well versed in the subject matter of her talks, she proved effective and was soon much in demand as a speaker.

She was repeatedly arrested at Franklin Statue, on one occasion for making a collection for the unemployed. She defended her own case before the magistrate, arguing that she had as much right to make collections for the hungry as has the Salvation Army. The Judge agreed with her, and she was discharged. Her case has since successfully served as a test of the right of Socialists and other speakers to make collections at their meetings, without interference by the police authorities.

All through the Unemployed Movement Comrade Edelsohn was one of the most active spirits, devoting herself completely to the work and participating most energetically in the strenuous propaganda of those days. It was her presence of mind and exceptional bravery that practically saved the life of Joe O'Carroll, when he was so brutally set upon by half a dozen police and detectives armed with clubs and black-jacks. With her own body she protected O'Carroll till the plug-uglies stopped beating him.

At the declaration of war with Mexico, Becky Edelsohn was the first to organize an Anti-War meeting, at Franklin Statue, on April 22nd. She was arrested for "disorderly conduct," the time-worn cloak to cover the suppression of unpopular ideas. She conducted her own case before Police Magistrate Simms, making a splendid defense of free speech and advocating anti-militarism. The Court sentenced her to give a bond of $300 "to keep the peace" for three months.

"Does 'keeping the peace' mean that I must not speak against war?" Comrade Edelsohn asked the Magistrate.

"No," he replied, "but when a police officer orders you to stop, you must do so."

Becky refused to accept the bond—most logically so,

Thereupon she was ordered to prison for a period not to exceed 90 days. She at once declared that she would go on a hunger strike as a protest against her unjust conviction and sentence.

The Free Speech League appealed the case, meanwhile getting Becky out on bail, which circumstance terminated the hunger strike.

Comrade Edelsohn continued her agitation against the United States becoming involved in war with the Mexican people who were fighting the great struggle for Land and Liberty. She also became active in the cause of the sympathetic General Strike in behalf of the miners of Colorado, and it was in connection with this work that she participated in the meetings at Tarrytown where she was arrested with fourteen others for attempting to speak on the Colorado situation at Fountain Square, Tarrytown, N. Y.

The Tarrytown prisoners were released on bail pending trial, and Miss Edelsohn continued her agitation in behalf of labor.

Justice Crane of the Appellate Division sustained the sentence of the lower court, and on July 20th Comrade Edelsohn was called for sentence, being given the option of a bond of $300 to keep the peace or to go to jail for ninety days. She refused the bond and again declared a hunger strike. She was sent to the Workhouse, Blackwell's Island, and has since been carrying on her strike, refusing both food and water. She is held in a veritable Spanish incommunicado, the authorities refusing her visitors or to receive or send any mail. She is also refused the regular privileges of other prisoners. Only once was the legal representative of the Free Speech League, Mr. Justus Sheffield, permitted to see her and that was when he had to serve the writ of habeas corpus to bring Miss Edelsohn as a witness in the Tarrytown trial cases. No one is permitted to either visit her or to communicate with her, though a *sub rosa* route has been established.

Notwithstanding the false reports issued by the prison authorities and the misrepresentation of the capitalistic press, Becky Edelsohn is continuing her hunger strike, refusing both food and water, and determined to carry her protest to the bitter end. In a recent letter to me she writes:

"I am very low and suffering great torture. But there will be no giving in on my part. I can die but once. Many have died for the cause, and it will make good propaganda."

Katherine Davis, Chief Jailer of New York, and Becky Edelsohn, the Anarchist rebel! These two personify the thousand-year struggle between the Old and the New. But the New always wins. The Beckies are the material that martyrs are made of. The future belongs to the Beckies.

THE FARCICAL TRIAL IN TARRYTOWN

By Leonard D. Abbott.

A comic drawing published in a recent issue of *The Masses* shows a prisoner hauled by a policeman before a judge on a charge of "contempt of court." The prisoner says: "You can arrest me, but you can't arrest my contempt." Both drawing and remark are worth recalling in connection with the trial of the "free speech" prisoners in Tarrytown on July 28th. If any clear-minded or liberty-loving man brought to the court-room on that day had any respect for the law as incarnated in its Tarrytown representatives, he must have lost every vestige of his respect before the day was over. At a critical stage in the proceedings, the presiding magistrate, Judge Moorhouse, declared that he was not going to have the trial "made a farce." To this the prisoners' counsel, Justus Sheffield, most appropriately replied that "farce" was the only word that really described the day's developments.

It was perfectly clear that the real power in the court-room was District Attorney Weeks. The Judge's subserviency was so obvious that Mr. Sheffield was compelled, several times, to ask who was running the court, the Judge or the District Attorney. The sentences imposed on the prisoners had evidently all been fixed beforehand. "Found guilty; two months in the New York County Penitentiary," was droned in seven cases with clock-work regularity. There was no sense or justice in the sentences. Eight weeks before, U. de Rosa had been sent to prison for three months. Yet he had done no more—and no less—than others who were now let off

scot-free. Dave Sullivan got thirty days for trying to assert his Constitutional right. Others who had committed exactly the same "crime" got two months. No wonder that Plunkett declared that the administration of justice in Tarrytown made him "sick at his stomach."

Plunkett was the first of the prisoners to be summoned before the bar. He chose to discard the services of counsel and to conduct his own case. His manly, self-reliant demeanor inspired even his enemies with respect. His case was strengthened by the testimony of Becky Edelsohn, who was brought from Blackwell's Island. Miss Edelsohn was in a pitiful state of collapse due to her hunger strike. She had tasted no food for nine days. She was carried forward in her chair, from which she gave her evidence in a weak voice but clear, slowly and with deliberation. "The crowd," she affirmed, speaking of the attempted public meeting in Fountain Square on May 30 in which she had participated, "was sympathetic; there was no disorder, except by the police." They had come, she said, to Tarrytown "for the purpose of holding a meeting, to acquaint the people of Tarrytown with the facts, already known through the press, of the Colorado strike, and also with the fact that John D. Rockefeller was guilty of the murder of women and children burned alive at Ludlow—a multi-murderer," as the press and magazines had already termed him. "No speaker," she added, "urged to any particular act, but each presented the facts known up to that time, but I said if they were public-spirited, class-conscious workingmen, they would not permit a man of this stamp to live in their midst."

On the stand Plunkett reaffirmed this testimony.

"I came to Tarrytown," said he, "to tell the people of the Colorado strike and the Ludlow massacre, which was conducted by gunmen employed by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, a tributary of the Standard Oil Company, and of the responsibility of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., as a murderer. He was just as guilty as Becker in the Rosenthal case. Becker didn't pull the trigger but he hired gunmen to do it the same as John D. Rockefeller, Jr., did in Colorado. The crowd cheered me and were sympathetic. There was no disorder and my remarks were punctuated with applause. There was

a good sized crowd, but one side of the square was free for traffic. I saw two automobiles and an ice wagon pass through. I saw them arrest my comrades and I followed to speak and the officer pulled me off the box and told me to walk on. I, considering I had the right to free speech and to express my sentiments, went back again and started to speak when an officer arrested me.

"I don't know the law in this case or the legal rights and I don't care about the legal points. I came to Tarrytown to tell the workingmen—I am not interested in any other class—of the labor struggle going on everywhere all over the world. If I were in Russia I might use other methods of telling them, but since I am here in America I was speaking, as this was the easiest way. I don't know whether I am to go to jail for months or years and to be perfectly frank with you it is immaterial to me. If you send me to jail it may bring my cause more forcibly before the people. I have no confidence in the court.

"I was arrested because I tried to propagate my ideas If you put me in jail it will aid my cause and it will show that there is no pretense of justice in an American court. If you send me up, my friends will aid me. If you release me, I will continue."

An equally militant speech was made by our Italian Comrade, Frank Mandese, who refused to take the customary oath, and who, like Plunkett, dispensed with the services of a lawyer. He did not express himself idiomatically, but he said what he had to say in a blunt, forthright manner that left no doubt as to what he meant. "I do not believe in law," was his opening statement. He continued: "I don't expect any justice in this town. This whole place has been bought up by John D. Rockefeller. No man has the right to try me. I have committed no crime except to raise my voice against the murders procured by Rockefeller in Colorado. Justice has flown out of the window of this court-room. You know yourself (addressing Judge Moorhouse directly) that there is no justice in this court. You look at the District Attorney. If he says 'Yes,' you say 'Yes.' If he says 'No,' you say 'No.' You follow orders from the boss. It's comic, but without justice in the comedy. It's

all fixed. You know that. You can give me what you like—go as far as you like. I can stand it."

Mandese, Plunkett, Secunda, Isaacson, Pastorella, Rudome and Fabricino were all sentenced to "two months in the New York County Penitentiary." Wilkes was discharged. Aufricht made a speech, in broken English, in which he declared that he was a Hungarian; that he had not studied the philosophy of Anarchism; and that he belonged to no organization except a trade union. He said that he had been approached by the prosecuting attorney with a proposition that he "leave this crowd" and win his freedom. He was unwilling, he affirmed, to make any pledge. He might renounce his present affiliation, or he might not; he could not say. As a result of this half-hearted speech, Aufricht was released under a suspended sentence.

The trial was chiefly interesting and significant because it put American "justice" on record. We know now where we stand. Public speaking has become a crime in this country, just as it is in the most ignorant and reactionary countries of the old world. It matters not that the National Constitution guarantees to every one the right of free speech. It matters not that civilization itself rests upon free speech, and cannot long continue without it. If you happen to go to a town or a village in America where a great capitalist lives, you will be turned back by policemen. If you try to tell the truth about that capitalist and about capitalism in general, you will find that you do not possess the right of free speech. You will be told that "the streets belong to the abutting property owners," or you will be told any one of a number of other things—all designed to prevent you from speaking. If, in spite of all excuses, you have the courage and idealism to still persist in speaking, you will find that you have committed a "crime," and you will be sentenced to "two months in the penitentiary."

As Plunkett was carried away from Tarrytown in a police automobile, he shouted out that he would return. So will all who have the cause of liberty at heart. And we will keep on returning, not only to Tarrytown, but to every town that denies free speech, until the battle is won and the principle is universally vindicated.

FATHERS AND SONS

THE struggle of the young generation against the old is developing to-day in America with the intensity and bitterness of the Nihilist days of Russia of the early '60s, so masterfully portrayed in Turgenev's "Fathers and Sons." But occasionally the conflict is not without educational effect upon—the fathers. As a significant instance we reproduce the letter of the father of Charles R. Plunkett, addressed to his son in prison.

My Dear Son:

I have at last come to realize your feelings regarding government. I attended your trial at Tarrytown, and I must say that anyone with an unbiased mind that could see and hear the farcical, outrageously conducted proceedings in that court-room and not have their red blood boil in their veins, must be an imbecile. I cannot adaquately express the utter contempt I feel for the daily press, as to the scandalous and false way in which they published the reports of the whole proceedings, and it makes me wonder how they can have the nerve so to misrepresent the facts. They must think the public in general are fools and that they can make the people believe anything they choose to print. I heard a man (?) in the court-room say that he would hang the man that he was to testify against if he could. The judge, being weak-minded, has my sympathy, as he was certainly forced to go through a terrible ordeal in being compelled to carry out the farce. Of course fear and servitude compelled him to do it. There was not the slightest semblance of justice in the whole proceedings. The district attorney and his assistant made no attempt to disguise the fact that they were both persecutors and judges.

I congratulate you on the way you conducted your defense, as it was both orderly and well done, and if the newspapers would print the facts, the general public would recognize it as such. I personally heard a group of reporters say that if their papers would print their stuff as they reported it (which of course they did not) there would be some interesting reading, as the reporters were unanimous in their condemnation of the whole proceedings (it cannot be called a trial).

In the future you can count on my full and hearty sympathy in your efforts to raise the standard of the oppressed. I cannot express my feelings as I would like

to at the present time, as I feel too utterly crushed to do so. * * * In the past I have not mentioned your connection with the movement to any one, feeling that it would hurt my business; but I now say to you that in the future I will feel proud to say, "Yes, that is my son," and instead of feeling disgraced at your being sent to jail, I will feel proud of it, (although I would of course rather not have you there). I will also feel that I have been of some use in the world through you. * * *

THE RANGEL-CLINE CASE

THE situation is so urgent that it is imperative again* to call attention to the case of the fourteen members of the working class who have been held in jail in Texas for almost a year. Some months ago four of the men, admitted by the prosecution to be minor offenders, were tried and sentenced to serve long terms in prison. The evidence showed that these men were not implicated in the killing of the deputy sheriff, which is the charge against all of the men.

The case against M. P. Martinez has just been tried and he has been sentenced to twelve years. The case of L. Vasquez, who had been sentenced to fifteen years, was reversed by the Texas Court of Appeals and has just had a retrial at the July special session of court, and TEN MORE YEARS WERE ADDED TO HIS SENTENCE. How is that for punishing a poor worker in Texas who dares assert his legal rights!

The District Attorney in Texas receives a bonus of five hundred dollars for every person that he sends to the gallows. Remember that.

So confident is the prosecution of the prejudice against these men in the minds of the Texas land owners and farmers who fatten on cheap labor, that it rarely uses a challenge in the selection of a jury.

Charles Cline and J. M. Rangel are accused as the leaders of the group and they are the victims of extreme race and class feeling, fanned by the employing class which recognizes a menace to their cheap labor in the teachings of these men. Indeed the real "crime" for

* Rangel-Cline Case, MOTHER EARTH, June, 1914.

which the fourteen men are in jeopardy is their attitude and activity in the labor movement.

They will hang Rangel and Cline unless YOU prevent it. There is money and hate on the other side. The attorneys at San Antonio write, "We believe every man's life could be saved and there are reversible points in all of the cases already tried."

But they are confronted with unscrupulous witnesses ready to swear to anything to convict their clients.

Will the workers of this country surrender these brave men to the vindictive wrath of our common enemy? So far the answer is NO! They have worked for our cause while they could. Now they are helpless in the cruel claws of capitalism's "justice." *We who are on the outside must fight their battle now.*

Do not let fourteen workers who have done their share in our struggle be imprisoned and hanged. It would be a blot on our movement.

We have saved our imprisoned comrades before and we can save these and we will.

Let every organization which believes in labor's right to teach and organize the workers aid. Give as liberally as you can and above all, GIVE QUICKLY. The Texas court is grinding the cases through with all possible speed and we must be able to fight for the lives of the men at once.

RANGEL-CLINE DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

Address all communications to the Secretary, VICTOR CRAVELLO, Room 108, Labor Temple, Los Angeles, Cal.

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

FOR THE RANGEL-CLINE DEFENSE.

Los Angeles Sociable	$90.00
Collection in Eureka, Cal.	11.50
Collection E. G. lecture, Stockton, Cal.	12.50
Collection E. G. & Jos. Gilbert Debate, Seattle, Wash.	16.29

SUHR AND FORD CASES.

Collection in Eureka	$11.50
E. G. & Jos. Gilbert Debate	16.29

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

Statement of ownership, management, circulation, etc., of MOTHER EARTH, published monthly at New York. Editor, Alexander Berkman, 74 West 119th St., New York; Managing Editor, Alexander Berkman, 74 West 119th St., New York; Business Manager, Dr. Ben L. Reitman, 74 West 119th St., New York; Publisher, Emma Goldman, 74 West 119th St., New York; Owner, Emma Goldman, 74 West 119th St., New York; Bondholders and Security Holders—none.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 31st day of March, 1914.

MAURICE LEVI,

(Seal) Commissioner of Deeds, New York City.

(My commission expires November 11, 1914.)

LOS ANGELES IMPRESSIONS

By PERRY E. MCCULLOUGH

OUT of the many impressions I received during Emma Goldman's lectures here, one in particular stands out. Dr. Reitman has epitomized it in his talk on "The Ego and His Own."—"I am more to myself than all else." During the lectures this idea was so often brought out and so many variants of the theme developed that this important phase of Anarchist philosophy was strongly emphasized.

In all of the lectures it was demonstrated that it was more important that the individual should have the opportunity and desire to be himself than that, out of respect for his family or friends, he should restrict himself to save their feelings. After centuries have drilled into us this idea of abnegation and self-denial, it is no wonder that the sledge hammer blows of modern ideas are needed to drive these decadent theories out. The Drama lectures developed this same struggle of ideas: not only of the individual arrayed against his family, but also that of youth fighting the superstitions and set ideas of old age, and further, the eternal, clear-visioned minority forever waging battle with the ox-like, apathetic majority.

The Emma Goldman lectures emphasized the fact that out of this minority has come the revolutionary thought and initiative of the world. Every digression from the straight and narrow path of stupidity has ever been made by a rebel against the accepted ideas of his time. In point of numbers the propaganda lectures were the most successful, attracting about twice as many people as the Drama lectures. All of the radical element in a city make it a point to hear Emma Goldman's propaganda. But the Drama lectures attract a class of people who would not attend the other lectures and who thus come into contact with real thought through their interest in the drama. Half-baked they may be, but close contact with the fire of great ideas will temper them when all else fails.

One result of Emma Goldman's stay here is the formation of an Anarchist group for the interchange of ideas and inspiration. Hitherto we have dropped back into the ruts of the economic struggle, only to scurry out of

our holes blinking at the reappearance of Emma Goldman the next year. We hope now to be the nucleus of a definite group, so that "our pastor" will have some tangible evidence of her activities here and will know where her friends are.

Personally speaking, this series of lectures has convinced me of the imminence of the Social Revolution. Hitherto I had believed its coming to be far away in the future. But the feeling has come upon me that the upheaval which has seemed so far away will be upon us ere long.

Out of the dust into which Man has been so repeatedly kicked, he is now arising with clenched fists to retaliate. Throwing aside the sop of respectability, breaking the chains of Christianity and of capitalist morality, he stands sullen and smarting as he takes his first deep breaths of the ozone of revolt. As he now starts to move toward the goal, who can say him nay and what power of heaven or earth can stand before him?

ON THE TRAIL

By Emma Goldman.

Exultant unto the heights,
Saddened unto the depths.

SUCH must ever be the fate of the true propagandist. That it should be thus even after twenty-four years of struggle, is only proof that he who grows with his aim, he who can rise to the summit of his ideal, must go the gamut between exaltation and despair of the eternal struggle.

We left Denver for California with the same expectancy that one has who goes to meet his Beloved. Has she not been staunch and generous always? Has she not rejuvenated our energies and instilled new hope in the past? Surely she would do no less on this trip. But even the most passionate lovers have been known to undergo a change. Why not California?

The shock was hard to bear, but for the consciousness that it was not fickleness that induced her to play us false; it was her exhausted vitality which had been sapped by the same insatiable monster that has swept across the length and breadth of this land,—King Hunger.

Under the circumstances, our meetings in Los Angeles proved brighter than the dark horizon which greeted us on our arrival. The most impressive among them was the one on "The Birth Strike," attended by a large and enthusiastic audience, and the Rangel-Cline Social which gathered about fourteen nationalities into one great purpose, to save our brave comrades who are now fighting for their lives.

The same spirit of solidarity sustained us during our entire stay in LOS ANGELES.

Billy, Bret and Perry McCullough, Margaret Mato and Elmer Ellsworth, E. F. VanCleave and Molly Price, Billy Bell and Mattie Divers, Bertha Fiske, Dr. and Mrs. Gerson, the Irish rebel Pat Ryan, and the Australian Carl Ravenswood were the most active, but there were many others, too numerous to mention. Among them, Enrique Flores Magon, Rudie Wirth, Anna and Sam Robinson and their gifted son Louis, Anton Johannson, Victor Cravello, Arthuro Giovannitti, who was there on a visit, and Mr. and Mrs. Townsend, added no little to the bright and joyous hours of our lives. Thus with the grey bard Walt we sing:

"As long as the sun shall not exclude you,
We shall not exclude you,"

Los Angeles,—as long as our dear friends are there to lure us on.

After the warm companionship of Los Angeles, SAN FRANCISCO chilled us to our very marrow. To begin with, the weather was dismal, the cold penetrating. Then there was the eternal trouble of halls. Worst of all, the comrades, of whom a majority are wasting their energies with petty jealousies and personal quibbles. Indeed, the month in that city seemed a year whose days grow long. But as the sun must break through the blackest clouds, so the faithful few left nothing undone to make the ordeal bearable.

Dear old "Dynamite for Sale" Bilinski* worked like a beaver for the meetings and literature. With him Carl Newlander, who had followed us on the bumpers from Chicago; Comrades Lisner, Sam, Suhr; our very promising young comrade Pearl Vogle, now at the enviable

---

* Bilinski's trade name for our literature.

devil-may-care age of sixteen; our beautiful comrades Manya and Vassily Semenoff; and last but not least, staunch old John Kassel, all did their utmost for the meetings, but hard as they tried they could not rekindle the fires of San Francisco which a bitter siege of unemployment and the unscrupulous boosting of the Exposition have well nigh extinguished.

I'm not a novice in the hardships of propaganda work, but I found this year's activities in San Francisco among the most trying of my public career. Even the most zealous idealist cannot go on forever drawing from within himself without reaching the bottom of his resources, for as Strindberg justly said, "It is that which each one brings to us that enriches our souls."

The audiences in San Francisco, but for a very few, were too listless, too inert, to bring anything; nor were they particularly eager to receive. Hence the task of lecturing night after night was almost beyond endurance; indeed would have been, but for the love and devotion of my friends Rebecca Raney, Gladys Richardson and Paul Berger, with their inexhaustible tender touch of true comradeship. I cannot attempt to estimate their value to me, save to say that they were my main sustenance during the dreadful month in San Francisco.

Eureka, California, thanks to the efforts of Comrade Alexander Mackay, was splendid. We had four large and enthusiastic meetings in that city and one in Arcate, California, this marking the first attempt of Anarchists to break the ice in that part of the country, a part which holds a considerable future for our ideas. The visit was made doubly interesting because for the first time we came in personal contact with the sturdy sons of the woods,—lumberjacks, who brought with them the largeness of soul which only the beauty and massiveness of the forest can create. "For to admire and for to see this world, it never done no good to us, yet we could not stop it if we tried." Thus, whether "exultant unto the heights, or saddened unto the depths," we shall go on and on.

In the next issue I shall bring the account of our unusual experiences in Portland, Oregon, our meetings in Seattle and Tacoma, and the visit to Home Colony. Also, the story of our return to Portland, and finally our forth-

coming visit to Butte, Montana, where we shall be between the 16th and 19th of this month. After that we shall go to Denver for a reunion with our friends; a few days later to Chicago, and then back to New York.

IN MEMORY OF CLAUDE RIDDLE

THE Anarchist cause has lost a faithful and efficient comrade in the death of Dr. Claude Riddle, who died in Los Angeles, June 12th. Men of his type are rare enough in this world to merit recognition, and a brief outline of his life should be recorded for the satisfaction of his many friends.

Dr. Riddle was for some years active in the Socialist party. About five years ago he represented that party in a debate with Emma Goldman in Los Angeles. He publicly acknowledged his defeat. His manly and courageous conduct in this respect is worthy of special commendation. Shortly after this time he arranged several meetings in Southern California for Miss Goldman, having become a great admirer of her and her work. His activity in the Anarchist cause brought upon him the condemnation of the Socialist party. He was officially reprimanded and suspended from membership. Soon afterward he resigned from the party and publicly announced his acceptance of Anarchism.

Dr. Riddle was president for one term, of the Los Angeles Liberal Club, giving several lectures upon Rationalism and Anarchism. He was a clear thinker and capable speaker.

As a physician Dr. Riddle held two degrees, M.D. and D.O. His patients held his advice in high esteem, and loved him, as well, for his cheerful disposition.

He was one of my closest personal friends, and his loss touches me keenly. For the years that I knew him, I can say that his conduct always squared with my ideal of manhood. He was in practice as well as theory a faithful exponent of equal liberty, an example of universal charity and impartial justice, and his qualities of head and heart endeared him to a large circle of friends. He leaves a rich heritage in the memory of all who knew him.

CHARLES T. SPRADING.

SONGS OF REBELLION, By Adolf Wolff, true poetry and true revolution. A volume vital and beautiful, of tremendous conviction and infinite variety. A reproduction of the bronze statue (the fighting eagle), by the author, on the cover. Price $1.10, postpaid. Send orders at once to MOTHER EARTH PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION.

Artistic Photographs (large cabinet size) of the URN —containing the ashes of our martyred comrades, Caron, Berg and Hanson—can be had through "Mother Earth," at 25c

Our Friends in

Los Angeles

can procure Anarchist literature, including:

MOTHER EARTH MAGAZINE ($1.00 per year)

ANARCHISM AND OTHER ESSAYS, by Emma Goldman ($1.00)

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MODERN DRAMA, by Emma Goldman ($1.00)

SELECTED WORKS OF VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE. Three parts: Poems, Essays and Stories, with portrait of author and biographic sketch ($1.00)

PRISON MEMOIRS OF AN ANARCHIST, by Alexander Berkman ($1.25)

At GILLESPIE'S, 233 South Spring St. and C. C. PARKER'S, 220 South Broadway

NOW OUT

The Selected Works
OF
Voltairine de Cleyre

This volume of America's foremost literary rebel and Anarchist propagandist contains a choice selection of her poems, essays, sociological discourses, sketches and stories, which have proved a source of great inspiration to the revolutionary movement during the last twenty years.

Edited by Alexander Berkman
Biographical Sketch by Hippolyte Havel

Over 500 pp., cloth, with portrait of the author.
Tastefully printed and bound.

$1.00 Net. By Mail, $1.15

MOTHER EARTH PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
74 West 119th Street
New York

JUST OUT. READY FOR DELIVERY

The Modern Drama

Its Social and Revolutionary Significance

By

EMMA GOLDMAN

This volume contains a critical analysis of the Modern Drama, in its relation to the social and revolutionary tendencies of the age. It embraces fifty plays of twenty-four of the foremost dramatists of six different countries, dealing with them not from the technical point of view, but from the standpoint of their universal and dynamic appeal to the human race.

CONTENTS

PREFACE

THE SCANDINAVIAN DRAMA: Ibsen, Strindberg, Bjornson

THE GERMAN DRAMA: Hauptmann, Sudermann, Wedekind

THE ENGLISH DRAMA: Shaw, Pinero, Galsworthy, Kennedy, Sowerby

THE IRISH DRAMA: Yeats, Lady Gregory, Robinson

THE RUSSIAN DRAMA: Tolstoy, Tchekhov, Gorki, Tchirikov, Andreyev

INDEX

Price $1.00 net. By mail $1.15

Mother Earth Publishing Association

74 West 119th Street

NEW YORK